

Public Facilities & Spaces Report
Evaluation and Action Commission

The Four Governor Buildings Report

Our work on the four county buildings named after Maryland governors began with examining the last commission report. Due to not receiving any of the source materials on the governor buildings referenced in the last report, we recreated it when it was possible and added information. We made changes/corrections to the prior report as follows:

- The slave ledger created after the abolishment of slavery in Maryland is mischaracterized throughout the last commission's written report. For example, the George Howard entry contains the following sentence on page 17: "...Ledger produced in 1868 documenting the slaves in the county in 1864.." This implies that the ledger contains ALL of the names of those being enslaved by Howard County enslavers, which is not accurate. The ledger actually represents the list of enslavers who wished to be financially compensated for their perceived losses due to slavery being abolished. It was a choice, and not all enslavers sought the compensation.
- We could not locate any source in the last report that referenced the naming date nor the party responsible for the naming. Each box contains the entry "When/Who Named" with "Howard County Government" listed throughout many of the sheets. One of our researchers located a 1977 article that reported on the naming of the George Howard Building, and the RENAMING of the other three buildings by a formal decree of then County Executive Edward Cochran. Another of our researchers located a 1976 article that referenced that a "committee" was being used by Cochran to select the building names. A group of citizens had asked that the new building be named after recently deceased County Executive Omar Jones, to which Cochran declared that it was usually "...the policy to name the buildings after historical figures and not recent officeholders." We noted the information in this revised report that we have as of the time of its creation, and made a request of the county for a copy of the 1971 General Plan, Cochran's decree relative to his action, and information regarding the committee that he mentioned to the 1976 reporter. This report will be amended once the information has been located.
- We focused the data in our report on the information requested by the original Executive Order: information regarding enslavement activities, controversial legislation created that oppressed rights, and public statements made that reflected bias toward populations. We removed much of the reporting on the plantations and family members who lived after the subject's death in order to focus on the information requested.
- We examined and reported on the vote given by the men while in legislative roles. We decided that it was helpful for providing historical context for the reader as well as reflecting how the individual men participated in historical events relative to their peers.

The research contained in the sheets was done using the time and energy of the commissioners who are listed as follows: (MG) Marg Goodlin, (WD) Wayne Davis, and (MJ) Marlena Jareaux. Claudia Allen provided necessary support in compiling the research into the form you see herein, which was patterned after the last commission's format.

Public Facilities & Spaces Report Evaluation and Action Commission

The Four Governor Buildings Report

September 12, 2022

Asset Name	THE CARROLL BUILDING
Classification	Building
Location	3450 Court House Dr. Ellicott, City, MD
Dates	Opened in 1967: Named in 1977
Who Named	Howard County Executive Edward L. Cochran
Reason for Name	Renamed by a County committee that suggested it
Association with Slavery or Oppression – YES	
He was an enslaver (owner) and made public statements advocating oppression.	

JOHN LEE CARROLL (1830-1911)

I. Biographical Summary

On September 30, 1830, John Lee Carroll was born at Homewood in Baltimore City. His father, Charles Carroll of Doughoregan, was the grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (the last living signer of the Declaration of Independence).

John Lee Carroll was elected to the Maryland State Senate in 1867 and served two terms. He was elected President of the Senate in 1874. As a member of the United States Democratic Party, John Lee Carroll served as the 37th Governor of Maryland from 1876 to 1880.¹ His father willed Doughoregan Manor to his son Charles, but in 1866 John Lee Carroll and his wife purchased the property from Charles and his wife.² John Lee Carroll died in Washington, D.C. on February 27, 1911.

II. Connections to Slavery

It was reported in *The Sun* that a “Southern Rights Meeting” took place in the County in 1860. The article further notes that Colonel Charles Carroll was to command a troop of cavalry men to stand with the South.³ According to the 1860 census, John Lee Carroll was living in New York with his in-laws. Furthermore, he was reported to have \$40,000 of personal property.⁴ Of note, New York law

¹ “John Lee Carroll (1830-1911)”. *Archives of Maryland*. MSA SC 3520-1468.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001468/html/1468extbio.html>.

² Howard County Circuit Court Land Records, Book WWW25 p. 316-318. *Maryland State Archives*.

³ “Southern Rights Meeting and Organization of a Troop of Horse in Howard County.” *The Sun*. December 4, 1860, p. 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁴ 1860 Federal Census of New York

permitted enslavers to bring their slaves into the State for up to nine months.⁵ It is likely that slaves comprised part of his “property.”

“Colonel Carroll’s [his father] failing health and the secession crisis of 1861 caused John Carroll to return home in 1861. At ‘Doughoregan Manor,’ he became the manager of the plantation and its many slaves, and when his father died in 1862, John Lee Carroll was his executor.”⁶ John Lee Carroll was 32 years old at this time.

In his 1861 will, Colonel Charles Carroll indicated that “my experience and full convictions are that as long as we have that class of labor among us, they are, as a mass, better cared for and happier than if they were free and providing for themselves. I therefore give all my slaves to all my children, with these positive injunctions: that none of them shall be sold except among themselves...”⁷

The Alexandria Gazette reported that “Of 300 slaves belonging to the estate, all but 140 have run away.”⁸ In the second round of estate inventory filings done on January 10, 1863 under the heading “Servants on Farm” the names of those whom were still being held were documented. Each person was given a value of \$5. Carroll signed on January 15th to attest to the accuracy. For the second administration filing for the estate done February 23, 1865, Carroll reported the deduction of \$650 in assets that represented “...the appraisement of the slaves set free by the new Constitution.”⁹

On behalf of his father’s estate “Heirs of Charles Carroll”, John Lee Carroll placed his name on the 1867 list of county enslavers who wished to be financially compensated for their perceived losses after Maryland’s Constitution abolished slavery in 1864. Carroll’s list contained the names of 131 people that had been enslaved by the Carroll family as of 1864.¹⁰ John Lee Carroll was an heir.

III. Controversial Legislation

None found, due to records of time period for Gen. Assy. not being available.

⁵ Benton, Ned. “Dating the Start and End of Slavery in New York.” *New York Slavery Records Index*. Web. <https://nyslavery.commons.gc.cuny.edu/dating-the-start-and-end-of-slavery-in-new-york/>.

⁶ “John Lee Carroll (1830-1911)”. *Archives of Maryland*. MSA SC 3520-1468. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001468/html/1468extbio.html>.

⁷ “Will of Charles Carroll of Doughoregan” *Alexandria Gazette*, February 2, 1863, p.4.

⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, June 3, 1863, p.3.

⁹ Baltimore City Register of Wills. Administration Accounts. CM193-18, p. 120. *Maryland State Archives*.

¹⁰ “Howard County Commissioner of Slave Statistics.” *Maryland State Archives*. MSA C957 1-0041. http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_c957/msa_c957_1/html/msa_c957_1-0041.html.

IV. Public Statements and/or Positions

According to the *Maryland State Archives* website biography on John Lee Carroll, he made an address at the Democratic State Convention in 1903 endorsing the proposition of negro disenfranchisement.¹¹

More specifically, John Lee Carroll supported the Poe Amendment and gave a speech in 1905 making a plea to the State legislature to support the amendment.¹² In that speech, he said: "We recognize the broad fact that from the foundation of our government to the end of our great Civil War there had never lived a man, white or black, of any political persuasion who had for a moment dreamed of such a condition as would force upon a prostrate South the right of free and equal suffrage to the negro race." He went on to say: "...we know, as everyone knows, that the negro race, even when aided by its white Republican friends, was never intended to influence the white man's government, and whenever it has been attempted the result has been ruin and disaster." The full newspaper article can be found in our source folder. *More information about the Poe Amendment can be found in the Warfield building writeup in this report.*

Carroll continued making his position known on the topic by making the following statement in 1910: "If we can pass an amendment to the Constitution which is perfectly legal and proper, I would be glad to get rid of the negro in politics. We have beaten the negroes all the time, and can still do it."¹³

FOR MORE INFORMATION

1. Buchholz, Heinrich Ewald. *Governors of Maryland: From the Revolution to the Year 1908*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1908. Library of Congress Digital Access: <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/public/gdcmassbookdig/governorsofmaryl02buch/governorsofmaryl02buch.pdf>.
2. ¹ "John Lee Carroll (1830-1911)". *Archives of Maryland*. MSA SC 3520-1468. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001468/html/1468extbio.html>.

/MJ

¹¹ "John Lee Carroll (1830-1911)". *Archives of Maryland*. MSA SC 3520-1468.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001468/html/1468extbio.html>.

¹² "Gov Carroll Urges It" *St. Mary's Beacon*. October 12, 1905.

¹³ "Ex-Gov Carroll's View" *The Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland). 4 April 1910, Sat · 2; Newspapers.com.

Public Facilities & Spaces Report Evaluation and Action Commission

The Four Governor Buildings Report

September 12, 2022

Asset Name	THE GEORGE HOWARD BUILDING
Classification	Building
Location	3430 Court House Dr. Ellicott, City, MD
Dates	Opened in 1976: Named in 1977
Who Named	Howard County Executive Edward L. Cochran
Reason for Name	Renamed by a County committee that suggested it
Association with Slavery or Oppression – YES	
He was an enslaver (owner) and participated in enacting controversial legislation.	

GEORGE HOWARD (1789 – 1846)

I. Biographical Summary

On November 21, 1789, George Howard was born in Annapolis, Maryland to John Eager Howard and Peggy Chew Howard. He was raised at “Belvedere” in Baltimore County. In 1811 George was married to Prudence Gough Ridgely and received the land called “Waverly” near Woodstock as a wedding present from his father. He was the son of prominent planter, Revolutionary War hero, and namesake for the County, John Eager Howard. The Howard Family were part of Maryland’s “planter elite class” and enslavers.¹⁴

George got his start in politics when he was appointed a Commissioner of Primary Schools in Anne Arundel County in 1827¹⁵, though it isn’t clear if he acted in the role. He was a close friend of Maryland Governor Daniel Martin (Whig) and was elected to the Governor’s Council in 1831 by the Maryland House of Delegates, his first public office. When Governor Martin died in July of 1831, George Howard was appointed interim Governor of Maryland.¹⁶ George Howard was then elected to a one-year term (that was standard in those times) in 1832 and served until January of 1833. He died at his Howard County plantation home called “Waverly” on August 2, 1846.

II. Connections to Slavery

George Howard was an enslaver according to Federal Census Records: the 1820 census records him enslaving 20 slaves; the 1830 census records him enslaving 31

¹⁴ From the 2021 *Public Spaces Commission Report*, p. 16.

¹⁵ “Primary Schools” *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis, Maryland); May 17, 1827; ProQuest Historical Newspapers

¹⁶ “The New Governor” *The Torch Light and Public Advertiser* (Hagerstown, Maryland); July 21, 1831; ProQuest Historical Newspapers

slaves; the 1840 census records him enslaving 17 slaves.¹⁷ After his death, an inventory was created listing a total of 25 slaves which included both adults and children.¹⁸ *Note: we corrected the number (22) that was contained in the 2021 Public Spaces Commission Report.*

In 1841, George Howard was the chair of the Maryland Slaveholder's Convention held in Annapolis in January 1842 to promote the rights of slaveholders and attempt to have legislation created that would benefit them. Their written memorial was referred to the Committee of the Colored People.¹⁹

III. Controversial Legislation

As Governor, George Howard signed into law legislation passed by the General Assembly titled an "Act Relating to the People of Color in This State." This legislation appointed three people "...whose duty it shall be to remove from the State of Maryland, the people of color now free, and such as shall hereafter become so, to the colony of Liberia, in Africa, or such other place or places, out of the limits of this state..."²⁰ The legislation to form the organization was "An Act to Incorporate the Maryland Colonization Society."²¹

He also signed into law legislation forbidding "the immigration of free negroes" into Maryland and various other restrictions on the rights of Blacks including the right to assemble for religious purposes unless conducted by a white person.²² During the antebellum period, Maryland and Virginia politicians from both political parties (Democrats and Whigs) sought to address the growing Free Black population, in their respective states, with legislation that would either prohibit or relocate manumitted slaves or migrating Black freemen.²³

IV. Public Statements and/or Positions

None found in the newspaper sources that have been digitized and are searchable. With one term in public office, he may not have had time to make any.

¹⁷ From the 2021 *Public Spaces Commission Report*, p. 16

¹⁸ 1846 September 24. George Howard Inventory of Will. Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629-1999 > Howard > Inventories 1840-1848 vol 1. "Maryland Register of Wills Records, 1629-1999," images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9TRY-XXJ?cc=1803986&wc=SNY4-W3N%3A146534701%2C146712801> : 20 May 2014), Howard > Inventories 1840-1848 vol 1 > image 216 of 284; Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁹ Early State Records Online. *Maryland State Archives*. SC. M. 3172, p. 136.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4800/sc4872/003172/html/m3172-0136.html>.

²⁰ Archives of Maryland. *1831 Maryland Session Laws*. V. 213, p. 343.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000213/html/am213--343.html>.

²¹ Archives of Maryland. *1831 Maryland Session Laws*. V. 213, p. 426.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000213/html/am213--426.html>.

²² Archives of Maryland. "An Act Relating to Free Negroes and Slaves." *1831 Maryland Session Laws*. V. 213, p. 445. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000213/html/am213--445.html>.

²³ Excerpt from the 2021 *Public Spaces Commission Report*, p. 16.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

1. Buchholz, Heinrich Ewald. *Governors of Maryland: From the Revolution to the Year 1908*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1908. Library of Congress Digital Access: <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/public/gdcmassbookdig/governorsofmaryl02buch/governorsofmaryl02buch.pdf>.
2. “George Howard.” *Maryland State Archives*. SC. 3520-1453. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001453/html/1453sources.html>.

/WD and MJ

DRAFT

Public Facilities & Spaces Report Evaluation and Action Commission

The Four Governor Buildings Report

September 12, 2022

Asset Name	THE LIGON BUILDING
Classification	Building
Location	8360 Court Avenue, Ellicott, City, MD
Dates	Opened in 1967: Named in 1977
Who Named	Howard County Executive Edward L. Cochran
Reason for Name	Renamed by a County committee that suggested it
Association with Slavery or Oppression – YES	
He was an enslaver (owner), participated in enacting controversial legislation, and made public statements advocating oppression.	

THOMAS WATKINS LIGON (1810-1881)

I. Biographical Summary

Thomas Watkins Ligon was born on Mary 10, 1810. Ligon made his initial debut in local public service when he was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1843.²⁴ He then went on to represent the Howard District of Anne Arundel County in 1843 as a Democrat at the Maryland House of Delegates. In addition, he was a member of the Twenty-Ninth Congress in the United States House of Representatives serving Maryland's third Congressional district for two terms from the end of 1845 until 1849.²⁵

Of interesting note, Ligon was part of the House when the U.S. annexed the Texas Territory from Mexico, which voted to declare war upon Mexico.²⁶ By the 1850 census, his profession was reported to be: Attorney at Law. In a few years he became the 30th Governor of Maryland serving from January 1854 to January 1858. He was the second Maryland Governor who had been born in Virginia.²⁷

Towards the end of his life, Ligon retired to his Howard County home 'Chatham' near Ellicott City. He died at his home on January 12, 1881. According to our

²⁴ "Appointments of Justices of the Peace." *The Sun*. 08 February 1843.

²⁵ "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875." *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*. V.41, p. 5. Web. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhj&fileName=041/llhj041.db&recNum=4&itemLink=r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(hj0413\)\):%230410005&linkText=1](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llhj&fileName=041/llhj041.db&recNum=4&itemLink=r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(hj0413)):%230410005&linkText=1).

²⁶ "The Work of the 29th Congress." *History, Art & Archives United States House of Representatives*. Web. <https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1800-1850/The-work-of-the-29th-Congress/>.

²⁷ From the 2021 *Public Spaces Commission Report*, p. 23.

preceding commission, Ligon Road in the Ellicott City neighborhood of Dunloggin presumably bears his name.²⁸

II. Connections to Slavery

Thomas W. Ligon reported to be enslaving 10 people to the 1850 census taker. On the 1860 slave census he reported enslaving 7. In addition, he placed his name on the 1867 list of county enslavers who wished to be financially compensated for their perceived losses after Maryland's constitution abolished slavery in 1864. His entry contained the names of 7 people.²⁹

Furthermore, primary source documents in Annapolis, MD show a Governor pardon transaction involving Ligon both as an enslaver and as a Governor. In Ligon's first year as Governor, two young men enslaved by him named Andrew and Jerry Dent had been convicted of burglary and sentenced to the penitentiary. Ligon issued a conditional pardon for the two men, after he asked the Howard County Commissioners to receive them and sell them out of the state of Maryland for him the month before. In 1855 Ligon petitioned the Orphan's Court to extend their time of servitude by several years, and to sell them to someone out of the state. They ultimately were sold to a well-known Maryland slave trafficker.³⁰ Jerry and Andrew had been purchased by Ligon in 1847.

Ligon's second wife Mary Tolly Dorsey, daughter of Col. Charles Worthington Dorsey, received \$10,000 and all of the property except the money in the house, including the crops growing and the enslaved that her deceased father had held in bondage. T. Watkins Ligon was an Executor of the estate, and the receipt of slaves was acknowledged in writing by his wife on August 2, 1864 in Howard County Orphan's Court records.³¹ An entry was made on behalf of the estate "Heirs of Charles W. Dorsey" on the 1867 list of county enslavers who wished to be financially compensated for their perceived losses after Maryland's Constitution abolished slavery in November 1864. That entry contains the names of 26 people that had been enslaved by the heirs as of 1864.³² Ligon signed his name as Executor.

III. Controversial Legislation

According to the *Maryland State Archives*, quoting White, "His governorship was perhaps the most disgraceful in Maryland because of the flagrant manner in which citizens' rights were violated and...because of the countless frauds and disorder

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ "Howard County Commissioner of Slave Statistics." *Maryland State Archives*. MSA C957 1-0081. Web. http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_c957/msa_c957_1/html/msa_c957_1-0081.html.

³⁰ Primary source material found and published to the Facebook page "Howard County Maryland Black History." <https://www.facebook.com/HoCoMDBlackHistory/posts/pfbid02KFuU7PRNSdNn2iRuCfa6vzNJJoGQhw8VrraTaTuhHV6f2dBeWAmTHJKeFEoaN3iGhl>.

³¹ Howard County Register of Wills, (Receipts), T1309-1

³² "Howard County Commissioner of Slave Statistics." *Maryland State Archives*. MSA C957 1-0041. http://mdhistory.msa.maryland.gov/msa_c957/msa_c957_1/html/msa_c957_1-0048.html.

during Baltimore's elections." The Archives entry cited a *Baltimore Sun* article written after his death concluding that Ligon retired "...with the consciousness of a faithful performance of arduous and unpleasant duties, and no sort of reproach can be attached to his public record."³³

During Ligon's tenure as Governor, legislation entitled, "An Act for the Better Protection of Slaveholders in the Several Counties Therein Mentioned" was signed into law by him in 1854.³⁴ In 1856 legislation was signed into law by Ligon that specifically authorized the County Commissioners of Hartford County to sell or set free slaves that belonged to the county. If they were sold, the proceeds were to be "...applied to defraying the annual expenses of said county."³⁵ In that same session, the 1854 Act written above was repealed by the legislature and signed into law by Ligon.³⁶

IV. Public Statements and/or Positions

The positions held by Ligon during his time as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives were found by searching for his vote on matters regarding slavery. On the topic of the abolition of slavery in D.C., a resolution was considered that contained an amendment that would have restored the following rule, which was abolished at the 2nd session of the last Congress: "No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the slave trade between the States or Territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by of this House, or entertained in any way whatever." The majority vote was Nay (121-85), and Ligon's vote was Yea.³⁷

In the 30th session in 1848, the following draft resolution was prepared by the House:

"Whereas, on Friday last, three armed persons engaged in the internal slave trade, entered a dwelling in this city and violently seized a colored man, employed as a waiter in the boarding-house of several members of this body, and in the presence of his wife gagged him, placed him in irons, and with loaded pistols forced him into one of the slave prisons of this city, from which, it is reported, he has since been dispatched for the slave market at New Orleans;

³³ "Thomas Watkins Ligon (1810-1881)" *Archives of Maryland*. MSA SC 3520-1461

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001461/html/1461bio2.html>

³⁴ "1854 Session Laws." Maryland State Archives. *Archives of Maryland Online*. V. 616, p. 252. Web.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000616/html/am616--252.html>.

³⁵ "1856 Session Laws." Maryland State Archives. *Archives of Maryland Online*. V. 623, p. 104. Web.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000623/html/am623--104.html>.

³⁶ "1856 Session Laws." Maryland State Archives. *Archives of Maryland Online*. V. 623, p. 122. Web.

<https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000623/html/am623--122.html>

³⁷ "A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875." *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1845-1846*. Web. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(hj0413\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(hj0413))).

And whereas said colored man had been employed in said boarding-house for several years, had become well and favorably known to members of this House, and had married a wife in this city, and under a contract to purchase his freedom for the sum of three hundred dollars, had by great industry paid that sum within about sixty dollars;

And whereas outrages like the foregoing have been of common occurrence in this district, and are sanctioned by the laws of Congress, and are extremely painful to many of the members of this House, as well as in themselves inhuman: Therefore,

Resolved, that a select committee of five members be appointed to inquire into and report upon the facts aforesaid; also, as to the propriety of repealing such acts of Congress as sustain or authorize the slave trade in this district, or to remove the seat of government to some free State.”

There was a motion to move the resolution to be “laid on the table which would have the effect of stopping things. It was a close vote of 87 Nays and 85 Yeas to lay it on the table. Ligon’s vote was Yea.³⁸ At the end of 1848, Bill 666 was introduced which would have authorized the people of the D.C. to express their wishes as to the continuance of slavery and the slave trade in the D.C. Mr. Thompson moved that it be laid on the table, which was decided in the affirmative by a vote of 106-79. Ligon voted Yea.³⁹

Another attempt was made days later which contained the following language:

“Whereas the traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the republic in human beings as chattels in contrary to natural justice and to the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of republican liberty among the nations of the earth: therefore,

Resolved, that the Committee for the District of Columbia be instructed to report a bill as soon as practicable prohibiting the slave trade in said district.”

The usual attempt was made to move it to the table, but it failed this time. There were 81 Yeas to table, and 85 Nays. Ligon voted Yea.

Thomas Watkins Ligon was in the U. House of Representatives during a time when Abraham Lincoln was also serving. In 1849, Bill 750 to “...prohibit the introduction of slaves into the District of Columbia as merchandise or for sale or hire...” was read a first and second time. A motion was made to lay it on the table, which failed by a vote of 72 Yeas and 117 Nays. Ligon voted to table, and Lincoln voted not to.⁴⁰

³⁸ “Monday, January 17, 1848.” *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1847-1848*. Web. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(hj04331\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(hj04331))).

³⁹ “Monday, December 18, 1848.” *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1848-1849*. Web. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(hj04412\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(hj04412))).

⁴⁰ “Wednesday, January 31, 1849.” *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, 1848-1849*. Web. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(hj04446\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(hj04446))).

Once Ligon was voted in as Governor of Maryland, his position on slavery was shared by him in his 1854 inaugural address.⁴¹

FOR MORE INFORMATION

1. Thomas Watkins Ligon (1810-1881). MSA SC 3520-1461, Maryland State Archives. <https://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001461/html/1461bio2.html>
2. White, Jr. Frank F. (1970), "Biography of Thomas Watkins Ligon", *The Governors of Maryland 1777-1970*, Annapolis: The Hall of Records Commission, pp. 147–151, OCLC 144620.
3. Buchholz, Heinrich Ewald. *Governors of Maryland: From the Revolution to the Year 1908*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1908. Library of Congress Digital Access: <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/public/gdcmassbookdig/governorsofmaryl02buch/governorsofmaryl02buch.pdf>

/MJ

⁴¹ "Inaugural Address of Governor T. Watkins Ligon." 1854. University of Maryland College Park. Web. See page 6 <https://archive.org/details/inauguralofgover1854ligo/page/6/mode/2up>.

Public Facilities & Spaces Report Evaluation and Action Commission

The Four Governor Buildings Report

September 12, 2022

Asset Name	THE WARFIELD BUILDING
Classification	Building
Location	3410 Court House Dr. Ellicott, City, MD
Dates	Opened in 1973: Named in 1977
Who Named	Howard County Executive Edward L. Cochran
Reason for Name	Renamed by a County committee that suggested it
Association with Slavery or Oppression – YES	
Mr. Warfield benefitted from the servitude of the enslaved, supported legislation and made several public statements supporting White supremacy and other racist themes.	

EDWIN WARFIELD (1848-1920)

I. Biographical Summary

Edwin Warfield was born to Albert Gallatin and Margaret Gassaway Warfield on May 7, 1848 at the Oakdale Plantation. He was a public-school teacher and edited the Ellicott City Times newspaper. Mr. Warfield began public service in 1874 as the Register of Wills in Howard County and in 1886 became a State Senator. He founded *The Daily Record* business newspaper in 1888. He became governor in 1904 serving one term. After his term as governor ended he served in various capacities with financial institutions and also participated in the Southern Commercial Congress in 1911 as a Maryland representative escorting the state flag in their procession to the tune of Dixie.⁴² He died March 31, 1920.

II. Connections to Slavery

The son of enslavers, he was likely too young to legally to own property, but he greatly benefited from the servitude of those enslaved that met his every need until the end of slavery when he was just over 16 years old. Even in later years, those formerly enslaved still referred to him as “Massa Edwin” demonstrating his lifelong status in their eyes.⁴³ He was sympathetic to the Confederate cause, and two of his brothers fought and died for the Confederacy. He established a committee for a

⁴² The Confederate Veteran Magazine. 1911. Volume 19. No. 5. p. 208

⁴³ “Edwin Warfield: Farmer and Financier.” *The Sun* (1837-1995); Sun. Jan. 22, 1911; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*.

Confederate Monument/Memorial for Ellicott City in 1911.⁴⁴ He also hosted a Confederate Soldier reunion in 1899 at Oakdale Plantation.⁴⁵

III. Controversial Legislation

As governor, he was opposed to the Poe Amendment to the Maryland Constitution which would have disenfranchised Black voters. His main opposition to Poe was not that it would have disenfranchised uneducated black votes, which he strongly advocated for, but rather because the language in the amendment could be used to also disenfranchise white immigrant voters who were part of the Democratic Party base.⁴⁶ He did, however, support disenfranchisement legislation such as the Strauss Suffrage Amendment in 1909 with provisions for the disenfranchisement of illiterate black voters. It required a literacy test, and he stated that the amendment would eliminate “the ignorant, unreflecting, and thriftless negro voter.”⁴⁷ Warfield signed a Jim Crow Car law into effect in June 1904 to segregate Maryland’s railway cars and steamship lines.⁴⁸

More about the Poe amendment: “The Poe amendment resulted from the increase of anti-Black sentiment in the very early 1900s and dominated Maryland politics from 1903 to 1905. Through this amendment, the party under Senator Arthur P. Gorman would have disenfranchised Maryland’s Negroes. The racist movements of the South and anti-Negro sentiments of a segment of the Baltimore press affected Democratic thinking. The Democrats scored an overwhelming victory in the 1903 state election and pushed the amendment through the 1904 meeting of the Legislature. The Legislature sent the measure to the people as a referendum in the November 1905 election. If passed, it would have placed much power in the hands of election officials. In 1904, however, resistance to the proposal emerged, first by Governor Edwin Warfield and later by other leading Democrats. In addition, the newspapers lessened their racist tone. The amendment threatened the Republican party; its members strongly fought it. They received help at this critical point from Secretary of the Navy, Charles J. Bonaparte, who led and solidified the party. In particular, the Bonaparte-led Republicans utilized the foreign community and apprehensive third parties. They also received negative help from the Baltimore Democratic organization under I. Freeman Rasin which gave the amendment little support. Further, the

⁴⁴ “Will Honor Confederates: Movement to Erect Memorial To Howard County Company.” *The Sun* (1837-1995); May 17, 1911; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*.

⁴⁵ “Reunion Dinner: Ex-Confederates Entertained By Mr. Edwin Warfield.” *The Sun* (1837-1995); Jun 12, 1899; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*, pg. 7.

⁴⁶ “Gov. Warfield Speaks; Opposes Poe Amendment.” Staff Correspondent. *The Sun* (1837-1994); Nov 3, 1905; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*, pg. 14

⁴⁷ “For Amendment: Ex-Gov. Edwin Warfield Declares He Will Heartily Support the Suffrage Plan.” *The Sun* (1837-1995); Sep 15, 1909; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*, pg. 14

⁴⁸ “In Effect July First: On and After July First Colored People Must Ride Jim Crow Cars.” *The Sun* (1837-1994); June 25, 1904; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Baltimore Sun*.

election eve saw a number of leading Democrats such as Senator Isidor Rayner squabbling publicly over the amendment. Thus, the voters did not trust Gorman and his organization, did not fear the threat of Negro domination, and thoroughly defeated the amendment throughout most of the state.”⁴⁹ *Note: the 2021 Commission report incorrectly noted the thesis to be authored by Horace Merrill. Dr. Merrill was Goll’s thesis advisor.*

IV. Public Statements and/or Positions

In his campaign speeches, Edwin Warfield declared his firm belief in white supremacy and advocated for the political destiny of Maryland to be shaped and controlled by the white people of the State.⁵⁰

From his 1903 speech accepting the nomination for governor: “Therefore I take my stand firmly upon that plank in the platform of our party which declares that the ‘political destinies of Maryland should be shaped and controlled by the white people of the State.’ And I appeal to all citizens, irrespective of party, who love and honor the State, to lend their earnest and active support in this contest for the supremacy of the white race, for the cause of civilization and good government.”⁵¹

“The question as presented, and which the voter must decide at this election, is a plain practical, business one, and goes home to every white householder and taxpayer in Maryland. It is whether the government of this great Commonwealth shall be intrusted [sic] to a party more than one-half whose voters is composed of this ignorant race, or the party comprising in its ranks a vast majority of our white people.”⁵²

It should also be noted that Warfield was in favor of repealing the 15th amendment that guaranteed voting rights for Black. In a 1905 speech in New York he stated that the 15th amendment should be abolished in favor of State's rights and

“..had the negro shown a disposition to discriminate in voting and to exercise an intelligent judgement in casting his ballot on public questions, the opposition to him would never have developed. But few of them have shown any desire to improve their condition, mentally, morally or financially, and the great majority of them are no better able to exercise the right of suffrage intelligently and discriminately today than were they were first given that sacred privilege.”⁵³

⁴⁹Goll, Eugene W. “The Poe Amendment’s Defeat: Maryland Voters Reject the Negro Disfranchisement Movement, 1903-1905.” *Thesis/Dissertation ETD*. University of Maryland (College Park, MD), 1967.

⁵⁰ “Mr. Warfield’s Speech of Acceptance at Mt. Airy.” *The Aegis & Intelligencer* (Bel Air, Maryland)· 2 Oct 1903, Fri · 2; Newspapers.com.

⁵¹ “Mr. Warfield’s Speech of Acceptance at Mt. Airy.” *The Aegis & Intelligencer* (Bel Air, Maryland)· 2 Oct 1903, Fri · Page 2; Newspapers.com.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ “Speaks for Maryland” *Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland) February 25, 1905, Page 1; NewspaperArchive

As Ex-Governor, Warfield supported the Straus Suffrage Amendment (1909) which would require an educational/literacy test disenfranchising a large number of black voters and provide protection for the native and foreign born white voters. As part of his interview with the *Baltimore Sun* on this topic, and reported by the *Democratic Advocate*, Warfield said "This amendment is a substantial compliance with what I have always advocated. It is not too much to say that in its essential features, it is drawn along the precise lines that I suggested in my last message to the Legislature in January 1908. In that message, referring at length to the public demand for a suffrage amendment 'for the elimination of the ignorant, unreflecting and thriftless negro voter.' I declared that 'this state should be governed by those citizens who, because of their intelligence, their heredity and their interest in the material welfare of the Commonwealth, are best fitted to properly, patriotically and wisely exercise the high duties of citizenship'. I added that the supposed amendment should protect 'the citizen who voted in 1869 and his descendants, because that was a sacred privilege then enjoyed by the white citizens of this state.' "⁵⁴

Even in 1912 Mr. Warfield stated that Black people benefited from slavery. He also felt that "The real slaves were the master and mistress, who were charged with the entire responsibility and care, while the servants had all their wants provided for." ⁵⁵

FOR MORE INFORMATION

1. "Articles about The Poe Amendment Maryland, 1904-1905." Warfield Family Papers. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1nrBF_i6EduYFWTiV2IqiKtjsVkfS1PhK/view
2. Edwin Warfield (1848-1920) Archives of Maryland (Biographical Series) <https://msa.maryland.gov/msa/speccol/sc3500/sc3520/001400/001476/html/msa01476.html3>.
3. Buchholz, Heinrich Ewald. *Governors of Maryland: From the Revolution to the Year 1908*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1908. Library of Congress Digital Access: <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/public/gdcmassbookdig/governorsofmaryl02buch/governorsofmaryl02buch.pdf>

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⁵⁴ "Warfield Favors The Amendment". *Democratic Advocate* (Westminster, Maryland) Sept 17, 1909, Fri, Page 1.

⁵⁵ "Tells of Slave Life - former Governor Warfield on Old Plantation Days". *Baltimore Sun* April 13, 1912, Sat, Page 16.